DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 167 280 PS 010 435

AUTHOR Kemble, Eugenia
TITLE Starting Off on the Right Foot: The Case for Putting Early Childhood Education Into the Public Schools.
INSTITUTION American Federation of Teachers, Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE [75]
NOTE 16p.; Photographs will not reproduce well
AVAILABLE FROM American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, 11 Dupont Circle, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 (Item No. 625; single copy, free; additional copies, $0.25)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$1.67 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Day Care Services; *Early Childhood Education; *Educational Policy; Federal Aid; *Political Issues; Preschool Programs; Public School Systems; School Involvement; *School Role
IDENTIFIERS *American Federation Of Teachers; Project Head Start

ABSTRACT

Declining school enrollment, the surplus of qualified teachers and the existence of unused school buildings are among the reasons given for advocating public school sponsorship of expanded early childhood education and day care. Additionally, the number of women who work and need child care services is growing. The gap between the number of preschoolers now receiving service and the number whose parents may want it may be 6 million children. Present child care centers are largely inadequate in terms of availability, standards, and staff qualifications. There are today 60 or more federal programs that contribute to the funding of early childhood and day care programs. Coordinating efforts of the Office of Child Development are weakened by the absence of local administrative authority to organize funding. Federal spending for day care has increased significantly but in a pattern calculated to reinforce an already segregated system of services: public day care for the poor and private nursery schools or child care centers for the affluent. Though Head Start marks the beginning of a willingness to think about day care in terms of educational programs, the divided thinking which categorizes day care as custodial, and preschool and kindergarten programs as educational, still exists. Day care and preschool education should be combined and made universally available to all children. The public schools should be the prime sponsors of child care programs. (Author/RH)

**********
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
**********

# STARTING OFF ON THE RIGHT FOOT

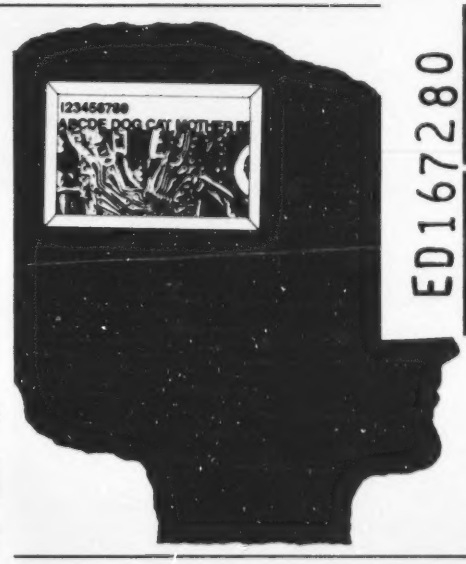
U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

## The case for putting early childhood education into the public schools

**By Eugenia Kemble**

PS 010435




ED167280

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

American Federation of Teachers

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC) AND USERS OF THE ERIC SYSTEM."

As Congress moves to expand child-care services, schools and teachers stand ready to provide the necessary space, programs, and staff. And unlike the profit-oriented private day-care operators, public schools will be accountable for the money they receive.

*illustrated by Michael David Brown/photographed by Susanne Anderson*

In August, 1974, Sen. Walter Mondale (D.-Minn.) and Rep. John Brademas (D-Ind.) introduced a comprehensive child-development bill into the Senate and House. It was reintroduced in the current session of Congress. Their new program, entitled the Child and Family Services Act of 1975, is the latest in a long history of efforts to provide federal aid to early childhood education and day care. For the most part, such efforts have resulted in either small-scale, fragmentary funding or in legislation which failed passage or was killed by presidential veto.

Some seasoned observers have speculated that the unwillingness or inability of this country to establish a comprehensive public program can be explained by the failure of a powerful unified constituency to emerge from the multiplicity of groups that now populate the day-care and early childhood field. Others say it is because of the conflicting social and political values which surround such issues as institutional care vs. home care; private vs. public sponsorship; the role of the family—particularly the mother—in raising children; the identification of day care with "welfare mothers" and work incentives; and the degree to which programs for young children should be considered "educational."

**The American Federation of Teachers has entered this picture with a strong position that is taking the rest of the day-care community somewhat by surprise. By defining day care in educational terms, and by relating its expansion to current conditions in the public schools, the AFT has attempted to combine the interests of children with the interests of its members. A policy statement passed by the AFT executive council in December, 1974, describes the need for expanded early childhood education, and points to the educational crisis caused by high teacher unemployment as a result of the so-called teacher "surplus," declining student enrollment, and underutilization of schools. The resolution proposed massive new funding reaching $2 billion a year for expanded day care and early childhood education to be administered by the public schools. Thus, not only does AFT emphasize the needs of children, but foresees a program to use vacant classrooms and employ jobless teachers.**

AFT President Albert Shanker has called for amendments to the Mondale-Brademas bill which reflect these positions in his New York Times column, in letters to Representatives and Senators, and in meetings with key legislators. As a result of the actions of the AFT council and president, the organization now is planning a major campaign for public-school sponsorship of expanded early childhood education and day care.

Early passage of this kind of comprehensive child-care and education program seems warranted by the combined impact of a number of social developments. To begin with, the teacher shortage of the 1960s has altered radically into the "surplus" of the seventies as the postwar-baby-boom children of the fifties have moved through and out of the public-school system. Declining student enrollment is leaving school district after school district across the country with the choice of cutting class size or firing teachers. The choice most often taken by budget-minded school boards is to cut staffs and leave classrooms empty. Some forecasters have estimated that by the end of this decade, there will be two teachers for every public-school job. The result already is the existence of a large pool of qualified teachers looking for employment alongside available but unused classrooms—even entire schools are being closed in some cases.

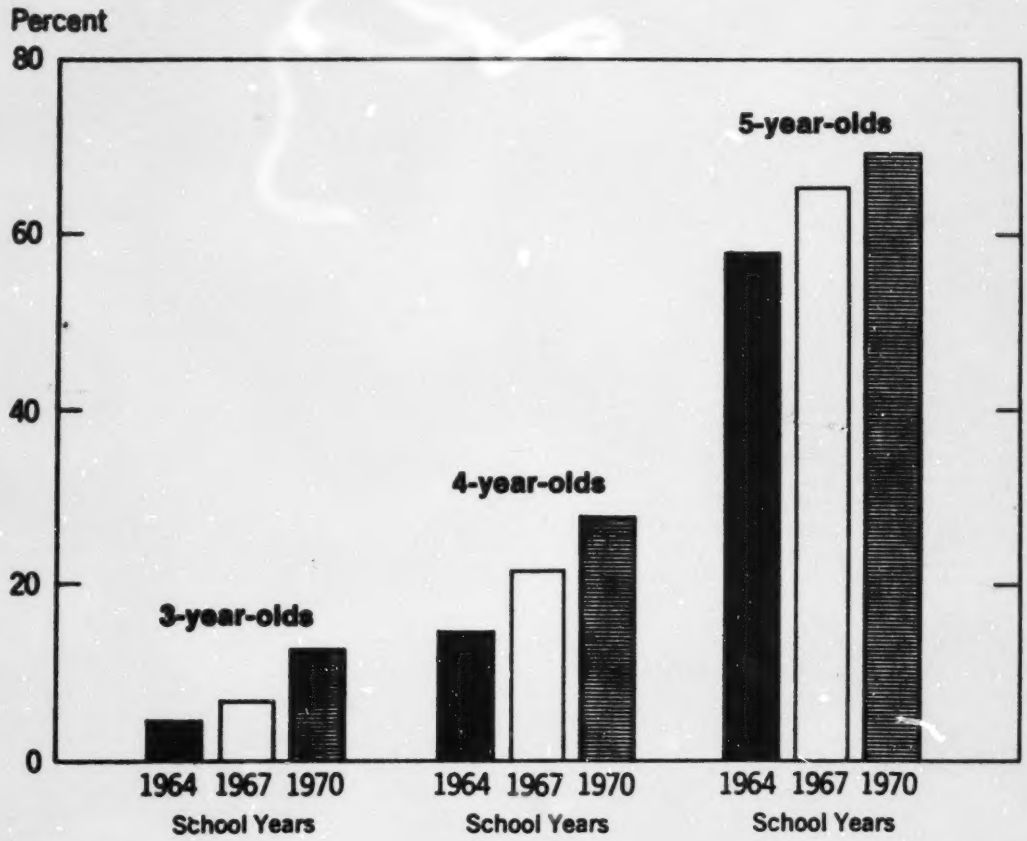
## MORE WORKING WOMEN

The second development favoring possible expansion of early childhood programs and day care is the growth in the number of working women who have children in need of such services. Whether for reasons of "women's liberation" or, as has been actually shown by a number of studies, the need for a second income, more women are working and consequently need child care and education for their children. The Women's Bureau of the U.S. Dept. of Labor estimates, for example, that "nearly 26 million children under 18 years old had mothers who were working or looking for work in March, 1972. More than 5.5 million of these children were under six years old. In 1960, 15.7 million children under 18 had working mothers, and about four million of these children were under age six." "Windows on Day Care," a report by Mary Dublin Keyserling based on findings of the National Council of Jewish Women, adds many other groups of children to its estimates of those in need of day care: 2½ million children under six whose mothers do not work but are from families in poverty; handicapped children;

---

*Eugenia Kemble chairs the AFT Task Force on Educational Issues.*

## The Growth in U.S. Nursery School and Kindergarten Enrollments




*Source:* U.S. Office of Education, as reproduced in "Early Childhood Education," by Marlene Cotton, Croft Leadership Action Folio No. 39.

children of mothers who are students or are in work-training programs; and children of families who simply want sound, educational day care.

Fulfilling needs such as these with quality programs must take into account research findings about the importance of the early years to children's intellectual and social development. The most notable and frequently quoted of these experts is Benjamin Bloom, whose book "Stability and Change in Human Characteristics" reviewed a number of longitudinal studies and concluded that, ". . . in terms of intelligence measured at age 17, about 50 percent of the development takes place between conception and age four, about 30 percent between ages four and eight, and about 20 percent between ages eight and 17." Bloom's belief in the developmental importance of the early years also is reflected in the work of J. McVicker Hunt, Jerome Bruner, Kenneth Wann, and Jean Piaget. A new interest in the work of these men began to emerge in the '50s and fully blossomed in the 1960s. The need to rethink the traditional custodial role of day care in light of their findings should be obvious.

**The inauguration of Head Start with the passage of the Economic Opportunity Act in 1964 marked the beginning of a federal recognition that early services for childen needed to be more than simple baby-sitting operations. With Head Start, compensatory education became an issue of concern to day-care providers. Head Start and its companion program, Follow Through, reflected the first acknowledgement on the part of Congress and a presidential administration that early childhood preschool programs should have educational content. For the first time, the standard view that day care was something to use to get welfare mothers to work, had to share the public-policy arena with a new, education-oriented perspective. With Head Start and Follow Through came the recognition that developing quality preschool education for disadvantaged children might be a good idea.**

Up until now, even the strengths of these developments have not turned enough political wheels to obtain adequate programs—even of the traditional custodial type. William Pierce, director of policy development for the Child Welfare League of America, has estimated that even though the U.S. Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare claims that about 1.3 million children are receiving some sort of preschool day care, about 600,000 of these "child care years" are provided under Title IV-A of the Social Security Act. The number of those getting anything more than custodial service is probably closer to 250,000. Another half million are enrolled in Head Start, which does incorporate some educational component in its programs.

At the time these estimates were made in 1974, Pierce also suggested that the number of children under six of working parents or of parents who would like to work was at least seven million. The gap between those preschoolers getting service and those whose parents may want it comes to an overwhelming six million children. And these estimates do not even take into account the day-care needs of school-aged children.

### KINDERGARTENS STILL NEEDED

The kindergarten picture is a little brighter, but still far from adequate. About 2.1 million children are enrolled in public kindergarten—75 percent of those eligible. About another 360,000 attend private kindergartens. According to a survey done in 1972 by the Education Commission of the States Early Childhood Project, nine states mandate school districts to offer kindergarten to all who want it. Thirty-seven states have legislation permitting it, and four have no legislation either mandating or permitting kindergarten. Although 42 states provide some form of state aid to kindergartens, the amount varies widely—from as much as 75 percent in Oklahoma to 9 percent in New Mexico. And even in many of these states, the current economic crunch is causing state administrations and legislatures to take another look at their support for kindergarten. So, the subsidies we now see may be cut shortly.

As discouraging as these statistics are already, they speak nothing of the quality of services offered. In 1972, the National Council of Jewish Women published a comprehensive survey of 431 proprietary (for-profit) and nonprofit day-care centers which its members visited throughout the country (including Head Start centers, but excluding public kindergartens). What they found amounted to a devastating indictment of the quality of care offered, through the use of a scale of judgments termed "superior," "good," "fair," or "poor." In arriving at these judgments—which the Council says are necessarily somewhat impressionistic—its member-surveyors considered such characteristics as the size of the center, the buildings in which centers were housed, the degree of integration, qualifications of the staff, child-adult ratios, staff salaries, parental involve-

ment, transportation, the educational program, supportive services, and equipment and facilities. The judgments also take into account the standards provided for in the Federal Interagency Day Care Requirements and those suggested by the Child Welfare League.

The Council's report "Windows on Day Care" concluded that private, profit-making centers provided the worst quality care:

". . . about half of the proprietary centers visited were regarded as 'poor' with respect to the quality of service rendered. Somewhat more than one-third were regarded as 'fair.' All of the centers in this category provided care that was essentially custodial. Even among the 15 percent of the proprietary centers in the 'good' category, only a few of them provided what is now generally regarded as comprehensive quality day care from the educational and developmental point of view. Fewer than half of the centers in this 'good' group had an adult-child ratio regarded as the minimum necessary to meet Child Welfare League Standards. Only one could have met Federal Interagency Day Care Requirements in this regard . . ."

Only one center qualified for the "superior" designation.

Nonprofit centers, including publicly supported Head Start centers, fared somewhat better. Over half of these centers qualified as "fair" and only 11.4 percent were categorized as "poor." Clearly the nonprofit centers were of better quality than the profit-makers, though even these were not as "good" as they could have been.

**Council members attributed the low quality to inadequate state-licensing provisions and staff qualifications, among other things. Although all but two states require that day-care centers be licensed, many states exempt from this requirement those centers which are federally operated or regulated, centers operated by private or parochial schools, those run by religious organizations, and those which are primarily educational. Even where licensing laws are applied, few of them provide for staff qualifications. "Windows on Day Care" reports:**

"In fact, a majority of states have no educational or training requirements for day-care-center teachers. Only 17 specify that the teacher must have some college education or its equivalent; nine that the teacher be a high-school graduate. The remaining states have no specifications. Even in the case of center directors, only about one-half of the states require that he or she have some college education or its equivalent; a few specify that the completion of high school is necessary, and the remaining states have no training requirements."

Since the Federal Interagency Day Care Requirements defer to the states in the licensing of centers and staff, there is very little to encourage the use of quality staff and program. To this grim picture, the council report adds the observation, "The fact that a center is licensed does not insure the continued

**How Good Are Present Day-Care Centers?**

The following table is taken from "Windows on Day Care," by Mary Dublin Keyserling, a report based on findings of the National Council of Jewish Women, 1972, p. 120. It shows the number and percent distribution of nonprofit and proprietary centers by impression[1] of quality of care.

| | Non-Profit Centers by Auspices | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Impression of Care[1] | Head Start | | Other Public | | Philanthropic | | Part Public Part Philan. | | Hospital | | Other | | Total | | Proprietary centers | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| **Superior** | 5 | 10.9 | 4 | 8.3 | 6 | 8.8 | 6 | 8.0 | 2 | 16.7 | 3 | 9.7 | 26 | 9.3 | 1 | 1.0 |
| **Good** | 15 | 32.6 | 15 | 31.2 | 23 | 33.8 | 21 | 28.0 | 4 | 33.3 | 1 | 3.2 | 79 | 28.2 | 15 | 14.5 |
| **Fair** | 22 | 47.8 | 26 | 54.2 | 30 | 44.1 | 44 | 58.7 | 4 | 33.3 | 17 | 54.8 | 143 | 51.1 | 36 | 35.0 |
| **Poor** | 4 | 8.7 | 3 | 6.3 | 9 | 13.3 | 4 | 5.3 | 2 | 16.7 | 10 | 32.3 | 32 | 11.4 | 51 | 49.5 |
| **Total** | 46 | 100.0 | 48 | 100.0 | 68 | 100.0 | 75 | 100.0 | 12 | 100.0 | 31 | 100.0 | 280 | 100.0 | 103 | 100.0 |
| **Inadequate information** | 1 | | — | | 11 | | 4 | | 1 | | 7 | | 24 | | 24 | |

[1]Impression of care is based on review of such factors as adult-child ratios, size of groups, services reported to be available, salaries reported paid, information on training, parental participation, hours open, observations of council survey participants on educational program, space, equipment, and other relevant aspects of care.

maintenance of the prescribed standards. Most licensing offices are too understaffed to be able to monitor the centers they have approved."

### POOR QUALITY DAY CARE

A more recent report published by HEW confirms this unhappy picture. The "Review of Child Care Services Provided Under Title IV, Social Security Act" found that of 552 centers and private homes in nine states, funded under Title IV of the Social Security Act to provide day care, 425 did not meet minimum health and safety requirements. More than a third did not meet child-staff-ratio requirements. Among the conditions noted were: poisons and medications stored in places accessible to children; inadequate kitchen facilities, fireproofing and outdoor play areas; and broken rusting equipment.

One of the conclusions of this report points to the problem of fragmentation that plagues the entire day-care and early childhood field. Authors of the report suggest that one of the reasons for poor administration of this program is the confusion over which agency directs its difference aspects—the Social and Rehabilitation Service or the Office of Child Development. Multiplied many times over, this kind of explanation of inadequacy pervades the field and accounts for many of the shortcomings. It may even explain why obtaining a comprehensive program with comprehensive standards has eluded the most ardent day-care and early childhood advocates.

**The picture which now exists is loaded with ironies and contradictions. On the one hand are a whole list of powerful social circumstances pointing to expanded day care and early childhood education—the demands of working women; a large body of research showing the importance of the early years to intellectual development; and an extremely usable pool of qualified teachers and empty classrooms. On the other are the woeful inadequacies of early childhood and day-care services in terms of availability, standards, and staff qualifications. It would not seem to be an overwhelming intellectual task for social engineers and groups at interest to fit these two sets of conditions together. But it has not happened. The reasons probably have something to do with the structure of the early childhood and day-care field—the failure of a unified constituency to develop—and the organization of both the federal legislation subsidizing such programs and the federal bureaucracies which administer these subsidies. The picture can be described at best as chaotic.**

## 'Passive, disinterested group'

**"The surroundings were certainly bare and depressing. During the hour I was there the children sat watching TV, a most passive, disinterested group.**

**"The center was operated to enable women in the neighborhood to seek jobs or job training. It is questionable if the mothers avail themselves of the opportunity. It is difficult to determine to whom the day-care personnel are responsible. Are they fulfilling their obligations to the children and how is the money being allocated?**

**"The women appeared kind and eager for professional help. One wonders why some kind of professional guidance is not involved. Are Government funds being well spent?"**

—Comments made by a visitor to an unlicensed, nonprofit day-care center located in a church in the midwest (from "Windows on Day Care")

## PROGRAMS OVERLAP

Anyone trying to figure out what is going on in early childhood education and day care today is immediately impressed with the confusion of overlapping federal legislation, of state-federal jurisdictional lines, and of conflicting constituency interests—often of an extremely petty and parochial nature. There are today some 60 or more federal programs that contribute to the funding of early childhood and day-care programs. The Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor has listed them all exhaustively in a 90-page pamphlet called "Federal Funds for Day Care Projects." They are administered by everything from the unlikely Department of Agriculture and Small Business Administration to the more obvious divisions of HEW—the Office of Child Development, the Social and Rehabilitation Service, and the Office of Education. The largest share of day care and early childhood education funds come under the legislative authorities of the Social Security Act, the Economic Opportunity Act, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and the Manpower Development and Training Act. (See Chart A for a summary breakdown of the main programs these acts authorize and the federal agencies which administer them.)

Not surprisingly, the various groups pressing for expansion of all these programs mirror the programs and legislation—and with equal complexity and confusion. Each group has its own axe to grind, often at the expense of the larger picture. As long as they fail to comprehend the structural failure of their lobbying efforts, day care and early childhood services probably will continue to be relegated to a legislative back seat.

**Among the more powerful of the groups at interest are the AFL-CIO and the teachers' organizations. Of the teachers, the American Federation of Teachers is speaking on this particular issue with a louder voice—partly because the National Education Association suffers from some of the same organizational fragmentation as the day-care field.**

Chart B offers a glimpse of the organizational maze surrounding early childhood education and day care. In an excellent essay found in Pamela Roby's useful book "Child Care—Who Cares?," Virginia Kerr comments perceptively on the meaning of this situation:

"... day care continues to suffer as an institution in search of a reliable professional constituency. One does not have to go far even today to find a social

**CHART A**

**Major Sources of Federal Funding for Day Care**

| Program | Administering Agency |
|---|---|
| **SOCIAL SECURITY ACT** | |
| *Aid to Dependent Children:* grants-in-aid to state public-welfare agencies for day care | Social and Rehabilitation Service (HEW) |
| *Work Incentive Program:* job training and day-care services for welfare recipients | Social and Rehabilitation Service (HEW) |
| *Child Welfare Service:* day-care services, training and demonstration projects | Social and Rehabilitation Service (HEW) |
| **ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT** | |
| *Head Start:* day care plus educational and other services | Office of Child Development (HEW) |
| *Parent and Child Centers:* comprehensive services to children under three | Office of Child Development (HEW) |
| *Migrant and Seasonal Farm Workers:* day-care services to migrant farm families | Community Services Administration (HEW) |
| **ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT** | |
| *Title I:* public-school preschool programs; may coordinate with Head Start or AFDC to add educational component | Office of Education (HEW) |
| *Migrant Program:* education of migrant children | Office of Education (HEW) |
| *Follow Through:* follow-up educational, health, and social services to children completing Head Start | Office of Education (HEW) |
| **MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT** | |
| *Concentrated Employment Program:* day-care services to facilitate employability | Prime Sponsor |
| *New Careers:* day-care services to those training for jobs | Manpower Administration |
| *Neighborhood Youth Corps:* assignment of youth as day-care aides | Manpower Administration, Bureau of Work Training |

*Sources:* "Federally Sponsored Child Care," by Stevanne Auerbach "Child Care—Who Cares?," edited by Pamela Roby, Basic Books, 1973, and "Day Care Facts," Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor, 1973.

worker or an early childhood educator who will comment on the need for more and better day care, and at the same time deprecate the use of day care by women who do not have to work. Without such a constituency, the success of efforts to lobby for expansion of day care at local, state, and federal levels is contingent on the ability of its advocates to effect working coalitions among professionals and agencies competing for control of programs and among community and social-reform groups who often balk at any signs of compromise to their particular philosophies of care . . ."

**But Kerr and others fail to take such observations one step further: If the legislation sponsoring day care and early childhood education was in one piece and provided a comprehensive program administered by a single agency and a single presumed* prime sponsor at the state and local level, would not this facilitate coalition-building among teachers and other day-care advocates to further expand federal support—support which might eventually create the scope and variation in quality programs that all child advocates want?**

The creation of the Office of Child Development in 1970 for the purpose of coordinating children's programs represented an unsuccessful gesture at making order out of chaos. To begin with, it could not even administer all the programs. The basic problems of fragmented legislative authority backed up by a fragmented constituency remained to plague its efforts. And there was no administrative authority locally—such as the public-school system—to tie all of the funding strands together.

*"Presumed" prime sponsor means that public-school agencies would administer the early childhood education programs provided that (a) they meet the bill's standards, and (b) they wish to do so.

## DAY CARE IN DISARRAY

There are also serious substantive reasons why the day-care and early childhood field is in such disarray—reasons that have to be thrashed out before a real child-advocacy coalition can be built. It is not enough to simply suggest that everyone get together. There are disagreements related to the purpose and the quality of programs that are worth exposing and arguing about.

To begin with, the idea that day care should—or even could—be educational is relatively new, and is by no means universally accepted. Even those who recognize the potential of this idea may have vested interests in cheaper, custodial varieties of day care.

The identification of day care as essentially a baby-sitting operation has a long history extending back to the early part of the 19th century in this country. Its most dramatic and telling expansion in recent history came during World War II, when federal financing under the Lanham, or Community Facilities Act, was freed for use in funding child-care centers. Forty-seven states established a total of 3,102 centers serving 600,000 children. When the war was over, federal funding ended and the centers closed down everywhere but in California and New York City. (Interestingly enough, Virginia Kerr attributes the continued public funding of day care in California and New York City to the existence of

### 'Overcrowded, filthy, depressing'

**"The center is housed in a shack in poor repair. It was overcrowded, filthy, and depressing. It was very small for the number of children. Two of us arrived at nap time and one tiny room was completely filled with cots which were right up against one another. There were 22 children in attendance that day. I have no idea where they would find a place to nap the extra eight children enrolled but not present. The odor was noxious as one child had gone to the bathroom in her sleep and it had not been cleaned up."**

**"The kitchen was tiny with dishes stacked up on top of one another. The bathroom had the tile off the wall and the black tar was exposed. It had only one sink, one toilet, and an old bathtub.**

**"The funding and budget is non-existent. All the money is handled through the church.**

**"We were told they were building a new building but that it will not be ready this year and possibly next. We doubt if even new facilities would help without adding trained, adequate personnel. There is no kindergarten program here (i.e., in the reporter's city), though they have some 5-year olds and 'try' to give them something 'extra.'**

**"The only good idea we heard here was that parents with early shifts are allowed to leave all their children at the center and the other children are driven to school at the proper time. They will also pick up brothers and sisters of enrolled children and keep them at the center until someone from the family picks them up. This eliminates 'latch-key' children."**

—Comments made by a visitor to an unlicensed, nonprofit day-care center located in a southern church. Although the center was categorized as "non-profit," staff said that the church was making a profit on it (from "Windows on Day Care")

powerful, unified day-care constituencies there.)

What is interesting about the Lanham episode is the way it defined day care in terms that persist right up until today. The centers were created simply because mothers needed to get out and work to serve the defense needs of the country—not because children were thought to need the enriching experience of preschool or because women were insisting on more "liberated" lives. Day care was regarded as nothing more than a custodial operation that enabled women to work (women who—it was still felt—more appropriately belonged in the home with children who—it was still felt—needed their undivided attention).

The postwar period was marked by strong sentiment against mothers working, reinforced by the publication of such books as John Bowlby's "Maternal Care and Mental Health," which argued that a continuous warm relationship with the mother was essential to a child's mental health. Day care and preschool—what little there was of it—were as unpopular and as out of tune with pervading social views as the working mothers who needed them, not to mention the many children who might have benefitted from good early childhood programs.

## DAY CARE FOR THE POOR

Since working, and therefore day care, were viewed as negative interferences with a healthy mother-child relationship then, curiously, the obverse situation also came to be regarded as true. If the mother-child relationship was "unhealthy," either for reasons of poverty or family breakdown, then day care was thought to be acceptable—it could even be used as a means of allowing welfare mothers to get out of the house and work. A double standard was being applied, of course—middle-class mothers should be home with their children, the reasoning went, but poor mothers should get out and work, particularly if they are on public welfare—but the definition of day care as an essentially custodial operation remained the same. Such notions exist even today. They are behind the Work Incentive Program funded by the Social Security Act, for example.

Even in the 1960s, when the work of Bloom and others began to point to the crucial importance of a child's early experience to his or her intellectual development, day care continued to be regarded in custodial terms. This is partly true, no doubt, because the first major breakthrough in federal funding for day care since the Lanham days came in the form of day care for welfare recipients under an amendment to the Social Security Act in 1962. (Underneath all the current debates about quality day care, there seems to exist an assumption that the children of welfare mothers do not deserve very much. Curiously, many organizations in early childhood and day care which claim to speak for the poor are doing their best to keep costs and standards down.) The Bloom-type theories seemed reasonable to many parents and they enrolled their children in preschool programs. But day care remained in a category by itself. Virginia Kerr comments on this

**CHART B**

**Organizations Involved in Day Care and Early-Childhood Education**

In addition to the AFT, key organizations in winning passage of legislation establishing early childhood education within the public schools will be:

AFL-CIO

American Association of School Administrators
Council of Chief State School Officers
National School Boards Association

Aside from these, there are a number of major organizations involved in day care and early childhood educated which are listed below:

American Academy of Pediatrics
American Association for Elementary-Kindergarten-Nursery Educators
American Home Economics Association (AHEA)
Association for Childhood Education International (ACEI)
Black Child Development Institute
Child Welfare League of America
Children's Defense Fund
Child Development Associate Consortium (CDA)
Council for Exceptional Children
Day Care Alliance of National Council of Organizations for Children and Youth
Day Care and Child Development Council of America, Inc. (DCCDCA)
Early Childhood Education Task Force of Education Commission of the States
National Association for Child Development and Education
National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC)
National Association of State Directors of Child Development
National Congress of Parents and Teachers (PTA)
National Council of Jewish Women
National Education Association
Office of Child Development (OCD)
U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW)

## Committees with ECE Jurisdiction

These are the members of Congress who are on the key committees that will deal with early childhood legislation.

AFT's legislative department suggests that AFT members communicate with them to encourage support of the union's proposals for amending the Mondale-Brademas bill, to insure that federal child-care services are brought under the presumed prime sponsorship of the public schools.

**House Subcommittee on Select Education Programs:**

*Democrats:*
John Brademas—Chairperson (Ind.)
Lloyd Meeds (Wash.)
Shirley Chisholm (N.Y.)
William Lehman (Fla.)
Robert Cornell (Wisc.)
Edward Beard (R.I.)
Leo Zefferetti (N.Y.)
George Miller (Cal.)
Tim Hall (Ill.)

*Republicans:*
Alphonzo Bell (Cal.)
Peter Peyser (N.Y.)
James Jeffords (Vt.)
Larry Pressler (S. Dak.)

**Senate Subcommittee on Children and Youth:**

*Democrats:*
Walter Mondale—Chairperson (Minn.)
Jennings Randolph (W.Va.)
Harrison Williams (N.J.)
Edward Kennedy (Mass.)
Gaylord Nelson (Wisc.)
Alan Cranston (Cal.)
William Hathaway (Maine)

*Republicans:*
Robert Stafford (Vt.)
J. Glenn Beall (Md.)
Paul Laxalt (Nev.)

In addition, the chairperson and ranking member of the full committees and all full committee members are as follows:

House:

Chairperson—Carl D. Perkins (D.-Ky.)
Ranking Representative—Albert Quie (R.-Minn.)

**Members of the full committee who do not serve on the subcommittee:**

*Democrats:*
Frank Thompson (N.J.)
Dominick Daniels (N.J.)
John Dent (Pa.)
James O'Hara (Mich.)
Augustus Hawkins (Cal.)
William Ford (Mich.)
Philip Burton (Cal.)
Joseph Gaydos (Pa.)
William Clay (Mo.)
Mario Biaggi (N.Y.)
Ike Andrews (N.C.)
Jaime Benitez (P.R.)
Theodore Risenhoover (Okla.)
Ronald Mottl (Ohio)
Michael Blouin (Iowa)
Paul Simon (Ill.)

*Republicans:*
John Ashbrook (Ohio)
John Erlenborn (Ill.)
Marvin Esch (Mich.)
Edwin Eshleman (Pa.)
Ronald Sarasin (Conn.)
Virginia Smith (Neb.)
John Buchanan (Ala.)
William Goodling (Pa.)

**Senate full committee members not on subcommittee:**

*Democrats:*
Claiborne Pell (R.I.)
Thomas Eagleton (Mo.)

*Republicans:*
Jacob Javits (N.Y.)
Richard Schweiker (Pa.)
Robert Taft (Ohio)

phenomenon as it emerged in the resolutions passed by the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth:

"The resolutions reflected the tradition of regarding the nursery school as a positive experience and day care as an unpleasant necessity and highlighted the ambivalence that accompanied attempts to merge the two services. In spite of the economic egalitarianism in the nursery-school recommendation, nurseries were clearly conceived as the only suitable type of service for upper-middle-income families, while their relative, day care, was endorsed with caution. Throughout the 1960s, federal spending for day care increased significantly but in a pattern calculated to reinforce an already segregated system of services—public day care for the

poor, private nursery schools or child-care centers for the affluent, and potluck for those families who fell in neither category.

### HEAD START BEGINS

The one apparent exception to this pattern was Head Start, funded by the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in 1965. Head Start was created at a unique time when the ideas of the early childhood theorists were beginning to catch on and when the nation was willing to define special funding for the poor in educational terms. Though Head Start marks the beginning of a willingness to think about day care in terms of educational programs, the divided thinking which categorizes day care as custodial, and preschool and kindergarten programs as educational still exists.

Perhaps the custodial and educational strands in the thinking of early childhood and day-care advocates were brought closer together during consideration of the Comprehensive Child Development Program in 1971.

This bill would have provided for a nationally coordinated network of child-development programs linked to federal resources through a single office within HEW. It would have incorporated existing programs like Head Start and added a wide range of other services. These services would have been universally available to children of working and nonworking mothers alike from all socio-economic strata. In doing this, the bill was acknowledging implicitly the value of quality day care as an educational experience for all children—not just those who were the offspring of career women or whose mothers were being prodded into working by the welfare system. This program—found in the child-development title of the Economic Opportunity Act (EOA)—was vetoed by President Nixon partly on the grounds that it had "family-weakening implications."

Even while Nixon was vetoing the EOA's child-development provisions out of concern for family solidarity, his administration was guiding the Family Assistance Plan through Congress. This plan provided day-care specifically to poor mothers and offered tax deductions to families when both parents were employed. Apparently the "family-weakening implications" of day care for the poor were perfectly acceptable in this legislation. In taking these steps on these two bills, the administration was reenforcing the entrenched notion that day care is a cheap custodial operation for the poor and not to be confused with education.

### UNIVERSAL CHILD CARE NEEDED

**The time has come for day care and preschool education to be combined and made universally available to all children. Women want it; research supports enriched early learning experiences for children; and the public schools, with the help of federal funding, now can offer the facilities and staff to make them a reality. Teachers are the most logical group to lead this fight as the core of a potentially unified early childhood constituency because they are organized and because they are connected to every public-school system in the country.**

Unfortunately, this is a bad time for teachers to be urging a major expansion of public-school services. The public schools are under attack from a whole spectrum of critics, ranging from the "new left" deschoolers who claim that schools are like prisons and teachers are insensitive, to the more conservative budget-cutters who prefer to hang their hats on performance-oriented accountability plans and industrial models like Programming, Planning, and Budgeting Systems (PPBS) or performance con-

## 'More experienced teachers needed'

**"More experienced teachers needed. Considering the gap between salaries of elementary school teachers and day-care teachers, the problem is how to get good day-care teachers."**
**"The main problem is lack of funds. The director wants to hire more help. He wants to pay them more."**

—From an interview with the director of a publicly financed day-care center (from "Windows on Day Care")

tracting. In between are the voucher advocates and even the career-educationists, some of whom would like to turn as much of secondary education as possible over to private business.

Many of the groups now active in the early childhood and day-care field are sympathetic to one or the other of these camps and can be expected to oppose the AFT's support of public schools as presumed prime sponsors of programs funded under the new Child and Family Services Act. Already vocal in their opposition are such persons as Theodore Taylor, executive director of the Day Care and Child Development Council of America, Inc.; Jule Sugarman, chief administrative officer for the city of Atlanta and former acting chief of the old Children's Bureau; and Marion Wright Edelman, director of the Children's Defense Fund of the Washington Research Project Action Council. The National Association for Child Development and Education, which lobbies in behalf of profit-making day care, will probably join them, if it hasn't already.

In fact, virtually every group now involved in some aspect of federally funded preschool and day care—including the relevant offices in the various federal agencies that now administer those programs—can be expected to have some interest in the status quo and will probably criticize the AFT's position. Some Head Start directors and parents have recently questioned it, for example, preferring direction by local community-based boards and parent committees to public-school administration.

Undoubtedly, the Child Development Associate Consortium, a group funded by the Office of Child Development to come up with "competency-based" definitions of early childhood and day-care professional qualifications, will have some problems with the certification and licensing standards of most school systems (see Chart C for its thinking on this subject as of December, 1974).

Despite these obstacles, the argument for public-school presumed prime sponsorship must be made. There are some likely allies on the scene, including U.S. Commissioner of Education Terrell Bell and Sen. Dale Bumpers (D-Ark.), Rep. William Lehman

**CHART C**

**Board Action Regarding Eligibility Requirements for the CDA Credential Application (Excerpted from minutes of the board of directors of the Child Development Associate Consortium, Dec. 7, 1974)**

| Eligibility Requirements Presented in Form of Motions | Board Action |
|---|---|
| 1. For the purpose of assessment, proof of access to a child-development center. | Passed—unanimous. |
| 2. Minimum age of 16 years. | Passed—unanimous. |
| 3. Evidence of formal or informal child-development/early childhood education training. | Passed—unanimous. |
| 4. Not less than 12 months full-time experience working with young children in a state-approved center. | Defer action for further study by staff and committee. |
| 5. No conviction of any offense related to child abuse. | Approve inclusion of concept in eligibility requirements with further clarification brought to board for final decision on wording. |
| 6. Ability to read and write English. | Voted to delete from eligibility requirements. |
| In the near future, provision should be made for translation of all CDAC materials into needed languages. | Voted not be included as an eligibility requirement but supported as a separate policy decision. That in the near future provisions should be made for translation of all CDAC materials into needed languages. |

(D-Fla.) and Rep. Albert Quie (R-Minn.). They have expressed interest in expanding early childhood education programs within the public school system. Others can and must be found within the House and Senate.

### JOB FOR PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The value and legitimacy of using the public schools as a prime sponsor for early childhood and day-care programs should be clear. Current offerings are far from adequate—either in terms of numbers or quality. Existing programs are fragmented and incoherent—a situation which prevents the formation of a unified constituency to push for more and better programs. The facilities we have now do not provide enough in the way of educational program, nor are they qualified to do so. Using the public schools to administer programs under the new bill would go far toward remedying all these ills.

**It is fair and much more democratic for public money to be administered through public institutions. This is what makes public schools accountable for their use of funds. There is every reason why all federal funds likewise should be administered by publicly accountable bodies. Certification requirements and standards for the quality of facilities also should be set by elected officials or their designated agents. Schools are subject to democratic policy-making by elected bodies, unlike private, profit-making entities in the day-care business. State and local agencies should not delegate their public authority and responsibility in the administration of federal funds to private or unaccountable agencies.**

For all these reasons, the American Federation of Teachers is convinced that the currently suggested legislation must be altered and urges that it be amended to provide for:

- A new federal funding commitment reaching $2 billion per year for early childhood education and day care.
- Universally available early childhood and day-care services offered on a voluntary basis through the public school system.
- The application of federal standards and program-licensing practices to all programs funded, and the requirement that all local school codes and laws be followed as well.
- Provision for the retraining of locally licensed personnel where necessary.
- Sufficient earmarking of funds to provide for extensive health, nutrition, counseling, and other necessary support services.
- Staffing ratios of one adult to 10 children for children six and over; 1:7 for five-year-olds; 1:5 for threes and fours; and 1:2 for infants.
- Provision for the training and use of paraprofessionals.

Should such a program gain support and eventually be enacted, day care and early childhood programs probably would become enduring components of the American public-school system which, with the help of a unified constituency of supporters, might even be expanded and improved from year to year.